

THE WAINWRIGHT BUILDING,
A PUBLIC APPEAL FOR PRESERVATION

John D. Randall

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Author, 1958, A Guide to Significant Chicago
Architecture of 1872 to 1922

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Foreword to letter: THE WAINWRIGHT BUILDING

This is an appeal to find an early solution for the preservation of the Wainwright building. The building is not known to be in immediate danger of demolition but the total circumstances warrant deep concern. There is an immediate need for indications that financial assistance will be forthcoming to prevent removal of a projecting band course that is deteriorated. Spalling has created the danger of the possibility of pieces of stone falling and injuring pedestrians.

The removal of this band course would seriously compromise the appearance of the building. It should be restored properly and should not be cut off.

The building is being operated at a reported heavy financial loss due to a low occupancy rate and low rentals. A way needs to be found to correct the total situation so that further problems do not result in demolition.

This foreword is a plea that attention be given to the open letter and related material for the reasons following:

First, preservation of great architecture is not just an academic question. It is certainly as important and serious as other visual arts. Great buildings are not only things of beauty in themselves nor only simple signs of past civilizations for archeologists and historians alone. Great architecture is a beacon for those who are searching for solutions, principles, and for progress. This is like the exemplification of great social, political, and technical achievements in various fields for those both in and out of such fields. The arts all need to have their wares displayed for the increased creativity of the artist, for the attraction and inspiration of new competence, for the education, understanding, and enjoyment of all of our people.

Second, the master work of a master architect in question occupies an outstanding position in the developments of the Chicago School - the most significant American movement in architecture. A small group of architects, and their buildings, led the way out of eclectic confusion to a rational architecture expressive of our own era - of our own technology and of our own spirit - and still inspires an architecture of innovation, of deep meaning, of integrity.

Third, the documentation of evaluations included here clearly establish the Wainwright as the prototype expression of the skeleton framed skyscraper which, as Mies van der Rohe and others have said, is the greatest idea in American building.

Fourth, the most compromising questions during efforts to save Chicago's Garrick building were those of the late timing of that effort, lack of documentation as to worth, and the communication of ideas. This letter is timely in uniformly and broadly communicating the situation to those who would be interested, and openly to seek wider aid and to inform adequately. Also the reporting by the press in the Garrick matter was vital in bringing attention to the public of the importance of such causes and no doubt contributed to the saving of much ornament. This writer did not agree that the Garrick was not sufficiently functional to merit restoration, but, in the case of the Wainwright, there can be no such question since the conformation of various elements offers minor problems only - just modernization to be useful.

Fifth, in general, support by professional and scholarly organizations of historic architecture that has brought us our contemporary architecture has been uneven to say the least. The relatively few surviving and mostly damaged buildings of the Chicago School survive because of exceptional management skill, prospering banking and mercantile practices, or unique professional, institutional or religious situations.

The documentation herein of many of those buildings lost or severely desecrated is too long and shameful, though incomplete. There are very, very few structures of comparable quality to cause fearfulness that there will be additional similar appeals, nor should petty regional jealousies cloud a matter of this magnitude.

Sixth, specifically, federal involvement is necessary as local governmental, civic, and professional organizations are either lukewarm to positive action, inadequate in financial resources, or are unwilling in regard to dealing with a private enterprise situation. The Wainwright clearly commands a new approach to find a solution of permanency at this time.

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Historic Site Trust to Meet Here Oct. 19-22

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About 1000 persons will attend the 21st annual conference of the National Trust for Historic Preservation Oct. 19-22 at the Chase-Park Plaza Hotel.

The trust encourages public participation in the preservation of sites, buildings and objects significant in American history and culture. It works to avert demolition of American landmarks. It has accepted several historic properties and maintained them for public use and enjoyment.

J. William Bethea, of Washington, D.C., director of public affairs for the trust, explained activities of the trust at a press reception Thursday at the Mansion House.

The St. Louis committee for the conference is headed by Austin P. Leland. Co-chairmen are Verner I. Burks Jr., and James H. Williams Jr. Honorary chairmen are Chapin S. Newhard and former Mayor Raymond R. Tucker.

October 12, 1967

An open letter to

Honorable Lyndon Baines Johnson
President of the United States of America

and

The Governor of the State of Missouri
The Mayor of the City of Saint Louis
The President, Society of Architectural Historians
The Chairman, National Trust for Historic Preservation
The President, American Institute of Architects, and
Citizens concerned about

The Wainwright Building of Saint Louis, Missouri

Dear Mr. President and Gentlemen

Mr. President, this is to respectfully and earnestly request your aid. It is in the national interest to restore and preserve the Wainwright building and for you to appoint a joint committee representing yourself and others such as addressees of this letter to prepare a report on how to do it. We urgently need recommendations as to the best possible way to conserve this masterpiece for posterity and the implementation of such an objective.

Virtually no building in the United States has received the degree of admiration for true architectural merit as has this office building. Since its construction in 1890 and 1891, time and increased understanding of architecture in general and the skyscraper in particular have brought about broad recognition of its significance. The attached one hundred references including statements by Honorable Robert C. Weaver and Mr. Roger Stevens constitutes an awesome tribute.

In summary, the Wainwright building is a pinnacle of the highest form of creativity of man, an architectural breakthrough in the logical and sensitive expression of the new skyscraper made possible by technological developments and philosophical realizations in Chicago in the 1880s.

Great amounts of money have been expended properly in the preservation of buildings and monuments related to our nation's political and social heritage. The subject request is consistent with your goals as manifested by the White House Conference on Natural Beauty and by Mr. Laurance Rockefeller's Report including the recommendation that, 'There should be a certification of important historical structures and areas and an action program developed for their direct purchase where appropriate, the acquisition of easements, and a stimulation of private efforts through public action including review of tax policy in this connection'.

The Wainwright situation requires resolution by federal, state, city, and professional interests at this time because its condition requires expensive repairs beyond which a private owner can reasonably be expected to continue in the interest of proper restoration. The owner, who has not solicited my aid, has wonderfully recognized his position as a conservator and has preserved the possibility of proper ultimate restoration but he is currently extremely discouraged. I have encouraged him to hold on and not remove an ornamented stone band in the hope that the community would aid. He is disappointed in the continuing lack of practical help from professional and other bodies, and he both needs and deserves aid beyond expressions as to the building's greatness.

The Mayor of the City of Saint Louis expresses sympathy, giving assurance that no city action would be allowed to deface the building. But he points to the 'creation of

serious problems' by consideration of tax relief or other use of public funds though he is urging tax relief for competing new construction. The Governor of the State of Missouri states that, 'If a method of assistance appears, I will be glad to do my part, though some have been suggested and numerous means are available. These problems no doubt exist at all levels of government and it is recognized that officials are subjected to great pressures by their 'constituents' and are in part dependent upon advisors of sometimes less perceptiveness. If such problems are too great, the opportunity of federal purchase is right there.

The owner is amenable to sale. His enlightened concern has been to preserve the possibility of ultimate restoration. He should be bought out now, if there is no other solution.

In relation to other expenditures for federal offices, a maximum of \$3,000,000 is not inappropriate for preserving an historic facility that is highly functional as well. This expenditure is a conservative pricing including acquisition, restoration, and internal renovation. Your request to Congress, to the General Services Administration, or to others to bring about restoration grant funds and purchase funds would make preservation a reality.

I recommend that a federal official that you designate or the Saint Louis Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, Wainwright Building, Saint Louis, Missouri, 63101, be the central liaison in any activities growing out of this appeal until a conservancy or other solution is established. The latter group's expressed interest in assisting in possible solutions as to preservation, and its key relationship to the building would provide a logical agency for all suggestions and offers of aid from any source.

My position is simply that of desiring to aid in a detached timely way by bringing with this letter the attitudes and

the problem to a focus, suggesting possible directions, and by documenting the brilliance of Louis Sullivan's achievement. Chicago's great Garrick building was lost in a desperate though untimely effort, and the United States gained ridicule from abroad. Our Nation can not afford to gamble on losing the Wainwright.

I feel certain that you will be sympathetic and helpful in this concern. Your leadership should evoke the efforts of others in a timely and constructive way. Time is short, and research programs take time. Your advice of interest to the owner would inspire him and others.

Respectfully yours

John D. Randall, Architect, Edwardsville, Illinois
Illinois member, American Institute of Architects
Past President, Chicago Chapter, Society of Architectural
Historians
Former Member, Advisory Committee, Architectural Land-
marks Commission of Chicago
Former Member, Mayor Daley's Committee for the Preserva-
tion of the Garrick Building

In order to inform and to beg for help, this letter is sent to the following parties who are encouraged to express interest or ideas of aid to the President and to the Saint Louis Chapter of the American Institute of Architects.

Owner, Wainwright Building
The Attorney General, United States of America
The Secretary of the Department of the Interior, U.S.A.
The Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban
Development, U.S.A.
The Secretary of the Department of Health, Education
and Welfare, U.S.A.
Head, National Park Service, U.S.A.
Head, The Smithsonian Institute, U. S. A.

Head, Historic American Building Survey, U.S.A.
 Chairman, National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, U.S.A.
 Head, General Services Administration, U.S.A.
 Governor of the State of Illinois
 United States Senators from Missouri
 United States Senators from Illinois
 United States Representatives from Saint Louis
 State Legislators representing Saint Louis
 Head, Board of Estimate and Apportionment, Saint Louis
 Chairman, Board of Alderman, Saint Louis
 Alderman representing the Wainwright Building area
 Building Commissioner, Saint Louis
 Librarian, Saint Louis Public Library
 Director, Saint Louis Art Museum
 Head, Missouri Historical Society
 Head, Missouri State Historical Society
 Missouri State Park Board
 Missouri State Council on the Arts
 Head, Jefferson National Expansion Project
 Head, City Plan Commission, Saint Louis
 Head, Landmarks Commission, Saint Louis
 Head, Landmarks Inc., Saint Louis
 President, Chamber of Commerce, Saint Louis
 President, Real Estate Board, St. Louis
 Chairman, Preservation Committee, A.I.A.
 President, Saint Louis Chapter, A.I.A.
 Acting President, Forming Saint Louis Chapter, S.A.H.
 President, American Registered Architects
 President, Washington University (former owner during alteration)
 President, Saint Louis University
 Head, School of Architecture, Washington University
 President, St. Louis Engineers Club
 President, Saint Louis Chapter, Producers Council
 President, Saint Louis Chapter, Association General Contractors
 Head, Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation
 Librarian, Art Institute of Chicago
 Librarian, Columbia University

Librarian, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville
Librarian, Edwardsville Public Library
Saint Louis Globe-Democrat
Saint Louis Post-Dispatch
Edwardsville Intelligencer
Architectural Record
Progressive Architecture
Architectural Forum
Time, Incorporated
Architectural Editor, New York Times
Director, Chicago School of Architecture Foundation
Director, The Twentieth Century Fund
Head, The Ford Foundation
Head, The Rockefeller Foundation
Head, The Danforth Foundation

A few Facts about the Wainwright Building

Dankmar Adler and Louis H. Sullivan, Architects

Charles K. Ramsey, Architect, associated

Seventh and Chestnut Streets, Saint Louis, Missouri

Constructed, 1890-1891

Basement, nine stories, and "attic"

Steel framed structure

Stone, brick, and terra cotta facing

Ground area, about 125' x 112', 14,000 square feet

Typical office floor gross area, about 11,000 square feet

Original subdivision, 25 rooms per floor

Preservation of the Wainwright Building

Governments can aid in various ways..

The official responses to requests for aid from the State of Missouri and the City of Saint Louis were understandable responses, but ones which show insufficient interest in the greatest architectural achievement in the realms of the Governor and the Mayor. The inescapable conclusion is that professional and historical groups have not adequately sought aid and made known the facts of the Wainwright's greatness. Otherwise, officials would be moved to use resources and influence readily available to them. Part of the problem is that a proper sense of values has been comprised by questionable judgements and actions in regard to other historical buildings. Nationally, criteria have lacked in regard to architectural qualities and confusion with social or political motivations.

Other countries such as England and cities such as Rome have, in self interest, but also for larger reasons, developed publicly supported agencies and procedures of much greater import and effect than ours. We have managed somehow to preserve numerous evidences of our heritage but we have failed and lost major buildings by not solving the problem relating to private property. The principle of the validity of aid must be accepted. Reasonable procedures to protect the taxpayer from misuse of restoration funds can be found. Cities may appeal to the Department of Housing and Urban Development for aid.

Besides setting up committees and acts, legal counsel available to cities and states can investigate possible ways to aid and they can prepare bills for passage by legislative bodies. Building expertise can be directed to offer technical suggestions and services. In this situation the Wainwright building owner has solicited professional engineering opinion required by the city. Private engineering counsel has recommended that the owner turn to a maintenance

contractor's opinion. In view of such sidestepping the state and the city should feel free to offer its aid in a cooperative way. A dialogue between the several offices would no doubt create other opportunities.

Governors and mayors have many kind of official groups at their disposal for furthering constructive action. Professional and service organizations are available for advice, and official influence can be most effective in evoking their aid. Government officials can create a desire to help on the part of influential citizens.

A very specific need is that of obtaining drawings of the Wainwright. If funds of national groups active in recording are not available for photogrammetry and measuring and recording, municipal and state personnel could be assigned, informally or officially, to provide drawing documentation.

The current movement towards establishment of the Wainwright as a National Landmark needs to be hastened, and it must be backed by a plan for practical aid of services and money. Otherwise owners of Landmarks will continue to be affronted by being put in the disadvantaged position of being pointed to as sort of monsters if they do not perform for the public at their own financial sacrifice. Most importantly, governments may buy buildings.

Cities and states may inquire of professional architectural, historical, educational, preservation, or federal organizations as to status, if any, of historic properties. They may initiate proposals for evaluation and designation. In the case of federal evaluations, the counsel and aid of the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior is available. The Service's actions are based on the advice of a committee of professional historians and the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, and Buildings. This is

in addition to the available cooperative programs with the architectural profession and schools of architecture in regard to historic site Surveys, photographing, and recording.

The recent enlightened act of Congress, Public Law 89-665, promises great potential particularly for works of strictly architectural significance. Cities and states may address the National Park Service's National Advisory Council, whose federal representatives are almost all recipients of this appeal. It is expected that millions of dollars will be appropriated in the coming year or two to the many deserving projects. A large proportion of such funds will be administered by the National Trust for matching grants-in-aid projects under which the Wainwright should qualify. Contemplated in the program are emergency funds for exactly the kinds of needs as that of the Wainwright to help forestall desecration. The portent of desecration is responsible for converting the original aim of this paper as a 'monograph' of documentation to one of urgency and pleading. Cities and states may urge adequate budgets for proper programs.

Cities and states of Mid-America, and the professional organizations of architects, can urge that the coming emphasis on historic preservation related to architectural achievement, Theme XX, The Arts and Sciences, give real attention to the Chicago School that gave the world so much. This is a great opportunity for the heartland. Whereas federal programs - and preservation generally - has in the past been oriented more to socio-political preservation to a large degree related to a combination of emphasis on our eastern heritage and eclectic or modified historic styles.

Louis Sullivan's roots and training were broad indeed. While he built from New York to Salt Lake City, from Minnesota to New Orleans, his greatest works were in Illinois and in Missouri. The people and our governments have many avenues to further the Wainwright in the national interest.

How much can be done towards keeping the Wainwright ?
- Some generalized ownership and finance possibilities. .

Plan A \$3,000,000.
Joint funding of purchase and restoration by the City of Saint Louis, the State of Missouri, and the United States.

Joint funding of a general restoration and interior remodeling study by professional and historical societies through their membership or contributions obtained from anybody.

Additional funds for more extensive restoration and remodeling to be obtained through building income or private contributions. Any deficiencies to be the obligation of the city which would assume the management. Maintenance and operation to be governed by policies and controls as determined by a Commission of a representative each of the city, state, and federal governments or their agencies, of the American Institute of Architects and the Society of Architectural Historians.

Plan A is strongly recommended because of the breadth of participation and logical assumption of responsibility. The three primary governments all participate and do so on about equal terms. The city is least able to afford such expenditures but stands to gain the most through advantages of occupancy and interest accruing to the community. The federal government has in a sense the ultimate obligation to do whatever becomes necessary to preserve a colossal contribution to the nation's cultural heritage. The contributions of the federal government to programs beneficial to the city on the other hand have been very great recently with particular reference to the Gateway Arch. Just across the Mall is the lesser but very expensive city Spanish Pavilion and the monument to our national sport.

Plan B \$2,000,000.
Purchase by the City of Saint Louis and matching restoration grant by the United States government. Additional restoration and interior remodeling to be funded by private contributions or income from the rental of space.

Plan C \$1,000,000.
Establish a non-profit corporation with funding through special governmental actions, city, state, and federal.

Plan D \$3,000,000.
This is the simplest way. Purchase, restoration, interior remodeling, and operation by the federal government for a single or several of its agencies.

Plan E \$300,000.
This and the following plans vary from conscience saving to complete dereliction of our obligations to our descendants who would wonder about our intelligence.

Subsidy of private ownership by single equal grants from the city, state, and federal governments for restoration of the facades on the basis of special circumstances as an architectural landmark. Such support involves legal problems and public education regarding aid and control to prevent undue profit from such subsidy in resale and to assure future maintenance.

Plan F No direct capital
Agreement of city, state, and federal governments to contract for space at rentals determined to be fair and equitable to all parties on the basis of reasonable restoration, remodeling and operational cost considerations.

Plan G Indirect support
City, state, and federal governments waive taxes, requiring appropriate controls and reporting to justify same.

Plan H \$30,000
Public subscription plea to cover minimal restoration
required for public safety and to obviate hasty dese-
cration.

Plan I No capital
Attempt to assist the owner in obtaining private rental
commitments which could afford a financial base for
restoration.

Plan J No action
Default - desecration - further deterioration - demolition.

A survey regarding kind and degree of support could be made:

1. Inquire as to how much space various parties might rent.
2. Inquire as to what plan various people would recommend.
3. Inquire as to how much money would be contributed.
4. Inquire as to what other kinds of aid are available.
5. Inquire as to what community functions could be housed.

The very least would be city rental of the first floor,
corner space as a combination office - information -
exhibit - hospitality lounge - and make arrangements
with the two parking facilities across the street to re-
move the signs and distractions so the building can be
observed reasonably by the Stadium and Mall visitors.

Restoration recommendations regarding general approach

The idea of restoration is to return to original condition.

Internal modernization for the sake of rentability and the availability of contemporary comforts is of course preferable to the loss of the building or the desecration of the facade. In spite of the contradiction of a restored exterior and a remodeled interior, the exterior aspects should be maintained as faithfully as possible with design concepts.

Consistency of exterior restoration commands the use of entrances as close as possible to those in fact originally employed - or as close as studied judgement will allow. The use of today's bronze doors, trim, and other such garish 'improvements' as related to sound restoration practices, should be avoided like the plague. Painting should maintain the monochromatic nature of the building's elements.

Lighting, window hangings, all other interior finishing, including lobbies, should be determined on the basis of the absolute minimum effect on external appearances.

Mechanical devices and systems as air conditioning should be designed and installed as to have no effect on the exterior.

Tuckpointing, weatherproofing, and cleaning should be executed with complete respect for the characteristics of the various masonry surfaces. While natural weathering and patina are certainly enrichments of character considered in design, there should be no hesitation to clean. The mistaken view of some conscientious owners that cleaning destroys applies only to method. The patina of the Wainwright is that of foul urban soot, rough repairing, and patching. The building will weather again in time and in an even more beautiful way if the same order of restoration is given as compared to the sensitive attention given in its design.

Restoration would be assisted by the cooperation of city agencies in regard to sympathetic minimizing of street devices and accessories such as lighting and signing without any need to compromise vehicular or pedestrian safety.

Performed properly such restoration need not affect internal convenience or comfort or rentability but would recreate Sullivan's architectural concept as of the time conceived.

Insensitive updating even in minor detail affects subtleties of sure design.

Do not let anyone try to 'improve' the Wainwright. Its influence has been pervasive in the cause of creative architecture. It can continue to constrain jazzy tendencies.

The great glory of the Wainwright is its character and spirit. The building is wholesome and restrained, logically expressive, and humanly appealing in its grace. It is the many fine things that flow through the experts' volumes of commentary of three-quarters of a century. It is symbolic of a search that, atrophied today, will resume again. Architects will come back to it to seek understanding in days yet to come.

Piles of words or pictures can not substitute for the experience, the inspiration that this proud stepping-stone to a real and uplifting architecture can give.

It's lessons - as Sullivan's other works and his words - have not been fully felt. And, if it were true that it had exhausted its lessons, we would want to keep it with us as a rich heritage, for enjoyment, for inspirational value. It represents a meaningful advance of our society towards realization of our great potential in living as well as in art. It says, cast out pretentiousness and fakery; be real and courageous - yet humble.

Evaluation resulting from a request by mail

The following quotations are a result of direct requests for unhurried evaluation in 1966. It was felt that indications from such people who are quoted would be an important factor in considering both preservation and the establishment of the Wainwright building as a Registered National Landmark. It is noteworthy that preservation is uniformly recommended and that no negative expressions were made. Architects are the least responsive, considering their own interest and the preservation of our profession's great work.

It is apparent, however, that key support is available to the owner, the City of Saint Louis and the State of Missouri, and the summary evaluation is extremely favorable for commending the Wainwright to the attention of the nation now, for appreciation and education at all levels.

Thirty-four people solicited, including nine abroad, did not give an evaluation. This is no doubt due in part to unfamiliarity as was indicated by Alvar Aalto from Finland. Two philosophers (including Durant), eight painters (such as Picasso), three sculptors (as Moore) ignored the request. In addition ten historians (Giedeon) and educators (Heald) and five planners (Bacon) and engineers (Severud) did not answer.

Secretary Udall, as others probably, did not see the request to him for it is hard to imagine his not wanting to encourage this proposition after his Quiet Crisis challenge. And how disappointing! The Wainwright is of a true cause of preservation that is a response to Mr. Udall's cry, 'In every part of the nation we need men and women who will fight for (sic) man-made masterpieces..'

The traditional and regretful indifference on the part of architects in such matters is manifested by the lack of any

response from the following: Messrs. Breuer, Gropius, Johnson, Kahn, Mies, Neutra, Niemeyer, Stone, and Tange. Mrs. Frank Lloyd Wright did not answer though she had given support to the Garrick building appeal. Philip Johnson, however, has long been a supporter of Chicago School work, and elsewhere it is noted that ten years ago he said that the Wainwright could still be studied by the practicing architect. Similarly, Mies, in his teaching us at the Illinois Institute of Technology, pointed to the values of the Chicago School, though he does not have time now. Edgar Kaufman, Jr. and Hugh Duncan have been staunch Sullivan supporters through the years.

Constantinos Doxiadis, Consultant on Development and Ekistics: 'I am trying to see how I can help you in your effort. To be honest to my beliefs, I should first see the building and the surroundings in order to form an opinion on whether its preservation has a meaning to the values and needs of the surroundings. As I do not know anything about the overall needs and possibilities, I can only express a general opinion and that is, that it is very wise to find ways to preserve buildings which are landmarks of a certain period. Someday we will be very sorry that we have let the treasures of the past get lost.'

R. Buckminster Fuller, Engineer, Geographer:

'...wishes (his) name added to the long list of people who are anxious to preserve this fine example of Louis Sullivan's genius. It is sad indeed when the work of great masters of architecture are lost to the world. They should be treasured and preserved as are the works of the great painters, sculptors, and writers.'

August Heckscher, Director, Twentieth Century Fund:

'I am certainly among those who feel strongly that the building should be preserved; it is obviously a major example of Sullivan's architecture. It is highly significant to be making this appraisal, with an eye to its preservation, before the crisis is at hand.'

Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Architectural Historian:

'I am surprised that I have never in writing expressed more clearly and unmistakably my high opinion of the Wainwright - an opinion which has grown higher with the years.' (See also references to Professor Hitchcock's books.)

Katharine Kuh, Authoress, Art Editor, Saturday Review:

'I deeply admire Louis Sullivan's Wainwright building. I've often felt it is his finest structure and surely one of the landmarks of modern architecture in America - or for that matter anywhere else. This building is part of our national trust and should be so considered. It ought to be conserved as any great work of art should be.'

Henry R. Luce, Time, Inc.:

On his behalf, '...admiration for Mr. Sullivan's pioneering in architecture is of the highest order, as would be the reaction of anyone familiar with this very famous gentleman and his early contributions to architecture indigenous to this country. All good wishes for the success of your efforts to preserve the Wainwright building.'

Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, Professor of Architecture, Pratt Inst.:

'The Wainwright building is the only completely aristocratic building achieved by Sullivan. Its elegance is incomparable. If it is true that real breeding shows by its incorruptable quality in debasing circumstances, then the Wainwright has proven itself as no other building I know. The cheap ugliness of the Chestnut Street area has, if anything, enhanced the self-contained refinement of the design. To see the red glow of the corner pier and the perspective light and shadow intervals extended on two sides coming to a harmonious termination against a blue sky, is to experience the REAL, not the pretended meaning of a misappropriated statement that "God is in the details".

The campaign to rally support for the Wainwright is most

laudable and essential. In any case, the Wainwright in my opinion is the most delightful and important statement that the function of form is form..'

Lewis Mumford, Architectural Historian, Author:

'..When I saw it I felt it one of the strongest examples of his work, rich in texture and color, but firmly disciplined. Saint Louis should be proud of this building and keep it in use, with only such minimal interior alterations as may be necessary.'

Buford Pickens, Professor of Architecture, Washington University, restating Architectural Record opinion:

'Today we can begin to understand and appreciate the beautiful uncommon sense of the Wainwright building. Here in the Saint Louis of 1891 - amid eclectic confusion- Adler and Sullivan built the first "post-Victorian" structure using the steel frame. The event was as significant to modern architecture as was Cezanne's work of the same time to modern painting.'

Earl Reed, F.A.I.A., Committee on Historic Buildings, A.I.A., and liaison with the Historic American Building Survey, National Park Service, U.S.A.: 'Our committee will, I am sure, do everything possible to help preserve this noble building and hope efforts will result in saving this magnificent structure.'

Roger L. Stevens, Chairman, National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, Washington:

'In my opinion the Wainwright building is an American landmark of historical and architectural merit, one that certainly should be preserved if at all possible.'

Honorable Robert C. Weaver, The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Washington:

'I appreciate recognition of the timeliness to express this concern when a critical situation is not at hand. As

is well documented, the Wainwright building is among the masterpieces designed by Louis Sullivan. The building contributes to the rich architectural heritage of this country as a significant example of the period when development of the skyscraper initiated a marked change in the physical image and functional development of American cities.

'The Department of Housing and Urban Development strongly encourages both the identification and preservation of tangible reminders of our past. Over one hundred communities have used H. U. D. programs to halt the destruction of historic places. Through urban renewal and related activities, areas and structures of historic and architectural significance have been identified and studied, and plans for their preservation and enhancement have been developed and carried out.

'In the future one or more of this Department's programs, as appropriate, may be used by the City of Saint Louis to implement local and national objectives concerning preservation of the Wainwright building.'

Minoru Yamasaki, Architect:

'I am enthusiastically in support of saving the Wainwright building. So often there is a great hue and cry about older buildings being saved - generally for sentimental reasons. I am very much on the fence in those cases, because unless a building has sufficient architectural merit to enhance the fabric of the modern city, there is no purpose to saving it. We only litter our streets with our sentimentality. The Wainwright building is truly an exception. It is a great building and I think that if the City of Saint Louis would become interested in it as part of its artistic richness, I am sure it could be remodeled within and made usable so that it could support itself, without touching the architecture of Louis Sullivan.'

George McCue, Art News Editor, St. Louis Post-Dispatch:
'For many, many years the Wainwright building's corner in downtown St. Louis was an obscure borderland, with blocks of cheap hotels and bars on the east, and on the west an enclave of real estate firms in various utilitarian quarters.

'Although situated just two blocks south of Olive Street - one of the main downtown arteries - it is visible from here only in a raking glimpse. Visiting architects, historians, and students have usually found vantage points from south-east of the building, sighting across a parking lot or along the Chestnut Street sidewalk. Even the least unfavorable positions (there being no favorable ones) have afforded views interrupted by moving and parked vehicles, and hemmed in by other buildings.

'Professor Buford Pickens of Washington University has pointed out that the Wainwright happens, on its Seventh Street side, to be next to a building of the same vintage and representing a familiar late nineteenth century type of shop and office structure from which the Wainwright so elegantly and so emphatically departed. This is the mode of the waning Romanesque, with a tall, round-arched inset for entrance and upper story windows in a brick facade. The confrontation of the two buildings is dramatically expressive of the distance that Louis Sullivan covered in his new conception of the tall building - a distance so great that his Wainwright building does not today, after three-quarters of a century, have a "historical" look. It remains fresh and contemporary in spirit, an eye-catching belle among its own progeny in the present generation of structures. 'The circumstances of downtown St. Louis redevelopment will shortly put the new Gateway Mall in front of the Wainwright building. From this open space it will be seen to better advantage than it ever has before. The parking lot to the southeast will give way to a landscaped plaza, and the high office building across Chestnut Street, on the south, also will be removed. Then the Wainwright, for the first

time, will occupy a commanding position in the downtown scene. Its front exposure, which faces south, will contribute to the setting just west of Busch Memorial Stadium, the Gateway Arch by Eero Saarinen and the historic Old Courthouse. The mall will extend from the Courthouse past Union Station, which is between Eighteenth and Twentieth Streets.

'At this moment, the Wainwright building has the prospect of renewed life as a prestigious location, but it also presents the problem of a landmark of historic and esthetic importance that is a financial burden to its owner. The difficulty, as usual, is that the interior arrangement is obsolete and inefficient.

'To assure the economic feasibility of this building is crucial to its survival. Its owner has been exceptionally solicitous in maintenance. The owner repaired and reinforced the cornice at a time when cornices were being ripped off downtown buildings to save this expense. The building has been kept in good structural condition.

'Fortunately, the interior arrangement above the ground floor is quite standard, and would seem to present few, if any, issues of historic fidelity no matter how it is rearranged. It should be possible to remodel the interior in any way necessary to make it attractive to tenants without compromising the integrity of Sullivan's design. Even new construction within the light well, which is plainly finished and visible only from an alley, to gain rentable space could hardly disturb the building's character. The building needs new elevators, rest rooms, and air conditioning.

'It seems likely that the Wainwright's owner would be interested in the possibilities offered by the building's historic eminence and by its forthcoming spotlighted prominence as a feature of the Gateway Mall. In that case, it seems equally likely that he would wish to study the feasibility of remodeling, but would be concerned about getting into a homets' nest of reactions from architects and historians.

'The well-being of the Wainwright building would be best served if such professionals would encourage its rehabilitation. Adaption is recognized by the most conscientious preservationists as the only means of keeping historic commercial buildings in existence. To preserve the Wainwright as a monument, it will be necessary to preserve it as an office building in active use, one that tenants will occupy with pleasure and pride.

'An interior that appears to present such minor problems to the historian, and which seems to lend itself so readily to renewed economic vitality, offers occasion for thankfulness that historic fidelity can be maintained where it counts, in the Wainwright building's public aspect, while allowing extensive adaptation within.'

A chronological list of references to the Wainwright

The references that follow constitute an extraordinary tribute to a work of art. There is little to add, except to marvel at Sullivan's brilliance of conception and of innovation in spite of the surrounding sea of bewilderment with the new skyscraper form and the general state of the art of 1890.

A few words must be said about those few detractors to whom any praise of Sullivan apparently is interpreted as a disavowal of everyone else. There is no contention that Sullivan discovered the art of architecture or even that he was the only rational and creative genius of the time, nor that he was the first. He did not of course express either structure or function letter by letter. Certainly Sullivan learned, like everyone else, both from people preceeding him and from buildings that he observed. It would be delusive to claim that he or any other architect conceived every line or detail of all of his buildings. The

tendency for even scholars to be final about mutual influences as between Sullivan and Wright or about the amazing hand of George Grant Elmslie is also regretful.

There is some opinion that the Wainwright is not Sullivan's best work. This may be so solely in terms of fineness of design and ornament. It is also great in its concept and in innovation, while the Prudential is frequently preferred as being exemplary in design. Carsons is a refinement and a different problem - and almost ten years after the Wainwright.

The record follows in brief for those who like it short. The use of the notation, "mention" is for those references that, largely, do not add to the story. For those who would delve further to learn more, the reference data is provided as a convenience.

For Edelman (1892) and Schuyler (1896) quotes, see Duncan's Culture and Democracy near the end (1966) of the listing.

1. Inland Architect and News Record, periodical, Vol. 16, No. 8, January, 1891, illustration only.
2. Scribner's Magazine, periodical, Vol. 15, March, 1894, article by Hugh Feree, The High Building and its Art, 'A thing that is high and has no breadth can not possibly possess any other quality than altitude.' p. 314, ornament.
3. Jordy, W.H., and Coe, R., (editors), American Architecture and Other Writings by Montgomery Schuyler (New York, Atheneum, 1964, first published in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1961, two volumes), p. 186, illustration. pp. 38, 39, mention. pp. 185-186, description and comparison with the Guaranty (Prudential) building of Buffalo, taken from the Architectural Record, February, 1896.

4. Kelsey, Albert, (Editor), The Architectural Annual (Philadelphia, Edward Stern, 1901), p. 49, Barker, A.W., Louis Sullivan, Thinker and Architect, reference to key Sullivan essay, The Tall Building Artistically Considered, Lippincott's Magazine, 1896. p. 51, illustration, 'This was the first example of a steel frame building, designed to emphasize the height of the structure; likewise, the first in which the division and ornamentation follows only structural lines.' p. 67, Caffin, Charles H., Artist Among Architects, reprinted from The Criterion, 'His true title to fame is that he has grasped the possibilities of the office-building more fully, more resolutely and with greater elevation of purpose, than any other man.'
5. Sullivan, Louis H., Kindergarten Chats and Other Writings, (New York, Wittenborn, Schultz, 1947, first published in Interstate Architect and Builder, 1901-1902), illustration and floor plans.
6. Sherer, S.L., Interesting Brick and Terra-Cotta Architecture in St. Louis, The Brickbuilder, March, 1903, vol. 12, p. 75, 'Certainly no more original work (than the St. Nicholas Hotel), unless we except his masterly Wainwright building, has emanated from his hand.'
7. Bragdon, Claude, More Lives than One, (New York, Knopf, 1938), p. 146, '...tried to suggest the presence of the steel framework...' p. 157, quoting letter of November 8, 1903, to the author from Sullivan, 'As to my buildings: Those that interest me date from the Wainwright Bldg. in St. Louis. It was with that that I 'broke' (see K.C. Chat "The Tulip"). It was a very sudden and volcanic design (made literally in three minutes) and marks the beginning of a logical and poetic expression of the

metallic frame construction. The Prudential Bldg. is the 'sister' of the Wainwright. All my commercial buildings since the Wainwright are conceived in the same general spirit. The structures prior to the Wainwright were in my 'masonry' period.'

8. Sullivan, Louis H., Autobiography of an Idea, (New York, American Institute of Architects, Journal, 1922-1923, and book, 1924, reprinted by Peter Smith, 1949), p. 298, '...it (the steel-frame form of construction) was given first authentic recognition and expression in the exterior treatment of the Wainwright Building...'
9. Tallmadge, Thomas E., Story of Architecture in America, (New York, Norton, 1927), p. 217, mention. p. 223, Wainwright the first in which Sullivan incorporated all of his principles.
10. Bryan, John A., (editor), Missouri's Contribution to American Architecture, (St. Louis, St. Louis Architectural Club, 1928), p. 80, 'Sullivan...(in the Wainwright) instituted a far-reaching theory in the design of modern office buildings.' p. 87, illustration.
11. Kimball, Fiske, American Architecture, (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1928), p. 156, 'The Wainwright was the perfect embodiment of this conception, e.g., p.155. He felt at once that the new (metal frame) form of engineering was revolutionary, demanding an equally revolutionary architectural mode. That the old idea of superimposition must give way before the sense of vertical continuity.' (Autobiography of an Idea, LHS). p. 157, illustration. p. 158, description. 'In the design (of the Wainwright) Sullivan rose superior to any merely mechanical theory of expression. The

building is vitally unified in a form deeply felt by its creator.' pp. 191-192, mention, 'Sullivan remained essentially a man of one building.'

12. Cheney, Sheldon, New World Architecture, (New York, Longmans, Green, 1930, second printing), p. 135, illustration. p. 136, mention.
13. Mumford, Lewis, Brown Decades, (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1931), (Mr. Mumford had not seen the Wainwright at this time - see 1967 evaluation). p. 150, mention. p. 152, 'This (treatment of Wainwright piers) accentuation of the vertical was in both its immediate and its ultimate effects an unfortunate solution...(for the) steel cage is not in itself a vertical system of construction: it is rather a system of articulated cubes.' p. 153, discussion of horizontal accent of base as a contradiction of the vertical accent, of the 'classic' concept of base and column and capital, and views opposing vertical emphasis.'
14. Dewey, John, Art as Experience, (New York, Minton, Balch, 1934), p. 204, '...in the great office buildings (Wainwright not specifically mentioned)...in Chicago, Buffalo, and St. Louis...'
15. Gropius, Walter, Scope of Total Architecture, (New York, Collier Books, 1962), p. 62, see also 'Formal and Technical Problems of Modern Architecture and Building', Journal, Royal Institute of British Architects, London, May 19, 1934, "About the end of the (nineteenth) century Sullivan -- Frank Lloyd Wright's too little recognized master -- constructed buildings of this (skyscraper) type which are epoch-making..."

16. Cahill, Holger, and Barr, Alfred H., Jr., Art in America: A Complete Survey, (New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1934), p. 122, Chapter VI, Architecture, Development of the Skyscraper, by Henry-Russell Hitchcock, 'It was left to Louis Sullivan in the nineties to devise original formulas of design adapted to tall buildings and expressive of the underlying skeleton,' and a description of the Wainwright.
17. Morrison, Hugh, Louis Sullivan, Prophet of Modern Architecture, (New York, Norton, 1935, Peter Smith, 1952), p. 141, an early skyscraper example. "...far more impressive when placed beside its contemporaries." pp. 142, 143, mention. pp. 144-155, description. "...the surety, the justness, the completeness of this first attempt at solving a new architectural problem are astounding evidences of Sullivan's creative imagination and power of design." p. 149, fig. 10, plans, and p. 354, pl. 49, illustration. p. 153, "The judgment of the success of a work of architecture, according to Sullivan, should be made subjectively and synthetically rather than objectively and analytically." p. 154, "...eloquent..." "...first successful solution of the architectural problem of the high building." p. 155, "...influence of the Wainwright Building on contemporary architecture was immediate and extensive." p. 156, smaller than the Schiller. pp. 157-159, comparison with the Schiller. p. 165, similarity of Union Trust plan. pp. 168, 169, mention. p. 170, comparison with Stock Exchange of Chicago. p. 171, comparison with Guaranty of Buffalo. p. 301, chronological listing.
18. Hitchcock, Henry-Russell, Architecture of H.H. Richardson and His Times, (Hamden, Conn., Archon Books, 1961, revised edition of Museum of Modern

Art book of 1936), p. 216, note suggestion that Richardson, if he had lived, might have done work superior to the Wainwright. p. 277, mention similar to previous note. p. 283, mention. p. 293, "Something of the massive monumentality of (Richardson's) masonry Field Store was carried over into the first of his great skyscrapers: the Wainwright..."

19. Pevsner, Nikolaus, Pioneers of the Modern Movement, (first printing, London, Faber and Faber, 1936, reprinted by New York Museum of Modern Art, 1949, as Pioneers of Modern Design, revised, Penguin, 1960, reprinted in 1964, paper), p. 141, illustration. "It was left to Sullivan to pay attention to the voice of steel. The result is the Wainwright...a mile-stone in the evolution of the Modern Movement." p. 142, "...the (Wainwright's) splendid simplicity of rhythm and the unfaltering directness of effect."
20. Behrendt, Walter C., Modern Building, Its Nature, Problems and Forms, (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1937), op. p. III, illustration (commentary directly parallel with Mumford early opinion). p. 118, "...recognized that the change in the structural system meant a radical revolution..." "But he certainly missed the solution to the architectural problem involved in this new type of structure; and it has to be admitted that Richardson in his design for the Pray Building in Boston, though carried out in masonry, came closer to the solution than Sullivan when he built the Wainwright...(its) accentuated verticalism applied for its design is not logically derived from the steel cage system which is rather a structure of square frames, but

(all this is paraphrased early Mumford - author)

from the urge to emotional expression which proved once more to be stronger than his faith in the principle that form follows function." "...the Monadnock....was far more advanced, although in its sixteen stories masonry was still employed."

21. Richards, J.M., Introduction to Modern Architecture, (Baltimore, Penguin, 1940, 1965 edition), p. 71, '...Sullivan's skyscrapers, including the Wainwright... were more truly modern than any other American commercial architecture until the 1930's.'
22. Giedeon, Sigfried, Space, Time and Architecture, (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1941), p. 313, fifth printing, "...increased the stress upon the vertical elements..."
23. W.P.A. writers, Missouri, A Guide, (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1941), p. 194, 'The influence (of the Wainwright) was immediate and lasting.' p. 306, Points of interest map location. p. 313, description, '...one of the first important skyscrapers...'
24. Perkins, G. Holmes, Comparative Outline of Architectural History, (Boston, Spaulding-Moss, 1941), p. 141, listed. pl 142, schematic floor plans.
25. Wright, Frank Lloyd, Nature of Materials, (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1942), p. 10, fifth printing, "...Wainwright generally considered Sullivan's masterpiece..." pp. 12-14, 17, 23, 62, mention.
26. Robb, David M., and Garrison, J.J., Art in the Western World, (New York, Harper, 1935, revised 1942), pp. 319-322, description, illustration. p. 1033, mention, chronological tabulation of several arts.

27. Fletcher, Sir Banister, History of Architecture on the Comparative Method, (New York, Scribners, 1931, 9th edition, and 1946, 13th edition, 1st printing, 1896), p. 876, "...showed much originality in (Wainwright)."
28. Andrews, Wayne, Architecture, Ambition and Americans, (New York, Harper, 1947, edition of 1955), p. 219, description, '...the architect's aim was to dramatize the function...'
29. Fitch, James Marston, American Building, the Forces that Shape It, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1948), fig. 89, illustration. p. 116, mention. p. 117, "...the prototype, which in plan and facade was not to be materially improved upon for half a century." p. 133, mention.
30. Wright, Frank Lloyd, Genius and the Mobocracy, (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1949), p. 59, "...a splendid performance on the record for all time..." "...a genuinely fresh countenance and was prophetic if not profound..." "...here beyond doubt, was the dawn of a new day in skyscraper architecture..." p. 79, "...perceived the high building as a harmonious unit -- its height triumphant..." following p. 197, illustration of a seventh story spandrel of the Wainwright.
31. Zevi, Bruno, Towards an Organic Architecture, (London, Faber and Faber, 1949), p. 84, "In a series of great works, above all in the Wainwright... (and Carsons), he showed the way towards an honest, frank, functional and yet deeply human approach."
32. Upjohn, E.M., Wingert, P.S., and Mahler, J.G.,

History of World Art, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1949), pp. 367-368, description. fig. 402, illustration.

33. Watterson, Joseph, Architecture, 5,000 Years of Building, (New York, Norton, 1950), p. 359, "...achieved the appearance of lightness by accenting the vertical piers..." following p. 284, illustration.
34. Egbert, Donald Drew, Idea of Organic Expression and American Architecture, Chap. 9, Evolutionary Thought in America, Stow Persons, editor, (Yale University Press, 1950, Braziller reprint, 1956), pp. 346-347, "...really direct architectural expression...to a tall office building..." p. 382, roof treatment. fig. 7, illustration.
35. Condit, Carl W., Rise of the Skyscraper, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952), pp. 145-146, "...strong vertical accent suggesting Sullivan's skyscraper style of the Wainwright..." p. 167, "...circular openings (in the attic)..." p. 178, description, "...special form appropriate to the multi-story office block..." p. 199, "...plastic surface texture..." p. 239, "...recessed spandrels between (piers)..."
36. Hamlin, Talbot F., Forms and Functions of Twentieth Century Architecture, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1952), vol. II, p. 438, "Sullivan, who in...the Wainwright Building in St. Louis, set a new standard in expressive design."
37. Wright, Frank Lloyd, Meaning of Architecture, (New York, Horizon, 1953), p. 151, "...the very first human expression of a tall steel office building as architecture..." "...here was utility become beauty by sheer triumph of imaginative

vision." "...has characterized all skyscrapers since..."

38. Hitchcock, Henry-Russell, Sullivan and the Skyscraper, (Lecture, June 23, 1953, Journal, Royal Institute of British Architects, Vol. 60, July, 1953), p. 353, 'Sullivan was the first master-architect of the skyscraper.' p. 358, description. pp. 360-361, mention.
39. Sartoris, Albertos, Encyclopedie de L'Architecture Nouvelle, (Milan, Italy, Ulrico Hoepli Editeur, Industrie Grafiche Italiane Stucchi, 1954), p. 88, (translating), "(The Wainwright) where Sullivan emphasized the verticality of the skyscraper which leaves one to imagine, behind the uniformity of the facade, the many floors of identical offices." p. 113, "Wright is against an architecture of height, but he admires the Wainwright building of his master Sullivan, as a prototype of the skyscrapers which he considers to be the most important work of modern architecture (he forgets, incidentally, that it is to Allesandro Antonelli that we owe the first rational idea of the skyscraper)." p. 140, mention in brief biography.
40. Student Chapter, A.I.A., Washington University, St. Louis Architectural Guide, (American Institute of Architects, 1955), fig. 10, illustration.
41. Kaufmann, Edgar, Jr., Louis Sullivan and the Architecture of Free Enterprise, Catalog of Sullivan exhibition, Art Institute of Chicago, 1956, pp. 13, 14, 34, mention.
42. Coles, William A., and Reed, Henry Hope, Jr. Architecture in America, A Battle of Styles,

(New York, Appleton, Century, Crofts, 1961) p. 372, quoting from the Architectural Record, February, 1956, Edgar Kaufmann, Jr., "...master-work, the Wainwright..." "...the brilliant Wainwright (structurally symbolic rather than directly expressive). Ever since, unity of surface has remained the admired expression of tall building design."

43. Szarkowski, John, Idea of Louis Sullivan, (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1956), p. 23, "...the calm of equilibrium is in this building." p. 60, Sullivan quotation including Wainwright from Autobiography of an Idea, pp. 65, 70, Wright quotation from Genius and the Mobocracy. pp. 61, 64, 66, 67, 69, 71, illustrations.
44. Architectural Record, June, 1956, pp. 147-149, One Hundred Years of Significant Building, 1: Office Buildings. The editors solicited nominations from fifty architects and scholars for the most significant American buildings of the previous one hundred years. Two buildings by Sullivan tied for first place, the Wainwright and Carsons. Brief commentary and accompanying illustrations includes Philip Johnson's quote, "The Wainwright Building turns out more and more to be the prototype of all contemporary office buildings. In the Wainwright Building, Sullivan imposed his artistic will on a pile of identical rooms in such a skillful manner that it can still be studied by the practicing architect today." Page 18, the Record Reports, reviews the Sullivan story on the 100th anniversary of his birth.
45. Wright, Frank Lloyd, A Testament, (New York,

Bramhall, 1957, first published by Horizon), p. 40, mention. (Referred to in Kaufmann and Raeburn, F. Ll. Wright, 1960)

46. Hitchcock, Henry-Russell, Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, (Baltimore, Penguin, 1958), p. 245, reference to Wainwright though not named, "...illustrate the creative possibilities in skyscraper design..." p. 246, "...used skyscraper construction for the first time..." "...piers of brick, quite like those on his Troeschler..." p. 247, mention regarding plan similarity with Guaranty building and contrast with "greater solidity of Monadnock building." pl. 118, illustration.
47. Gloag, John, Guide to Western Architecture, (New York, Macmillan, 1958), p. 332, mention.
48. Manson, Grant C., Frank Lloyd Wright to 1910, the First Golden Age, (New York, Reinhold, 1958), p. 31, cornice. p. 158, mention.
49. Giedeon, Sigfried, Architecture, You and Me, Diary of a Development, (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 157, mention.
50. Ragon, Michel, Architecture Moderne, (France, Robert Laffont, 1958), p. 76, mention, Wamright (sic) Building.
51. Randall, John D., Guide to Significant Chicago Architecture of 1872 to 1922, (Edwardsville, Illinois, privately printed, 1958), p. 25, mention.
52. Joedicke, Jurgen, History of Modern Architecture, (London, Praeger, 1959, third printing, 1963),

p. 29, states that Sullivan found expression for his theories in the Wainwright and the Guaranty buildings.

53. Jones, Cranston (editor), Form Givers at Mid-Century, Catalog for architectural exhibition, Art Institute of Chicago, sponsored by Time, Inc., 1959. p. 8, illustration. p. 9, conception of the skyscraper form for the first time in the Wainwright. p. 18, "In its clarity and dignity Seagram's climaxes the 67-year development of the skyscraper form that dates from Sullivan's Wainwright..."
54. Gardner Helen, Art Through the Ages, (New York, Harcourt, Brace and World, fourth edition, 1959, first published by Harper, 1926), p. 774, execution described as brilliant.
55. Cichy, Bodo, Great Ages of Architecture, Ancient Greece to Present Day, (New York, Putnam's Sons, 1964, originally Germany, 1959), p. 382, Wainwright not specifically mentioned, author refers to Sullivan as the true father of the skyscraper.
56. Reed, H.H., Jr., Golden City, (New York, Doubleday, 1959), pp. 134-135, The author, an outspoken traditionalist writer, states that the Wainwright was a facade and that his skyscraper designs were neither logical or expressive.
57. McCallum, Ian, Architecture, USA, (New York, Reinhold, 1959), p. 15, mention. p. 35, illustration.

58. Bush-Brown, Albert, Louis Sullivan, (New York, Braziller, 1960), pp. 22-23, "Aesthetic form appropriate to the skyscraper first appeared in (Wainwright)..." figs. 45-49, illustration.
59. Sullivan, Louis H., Democracy, A Man Search, (Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1961, about one-half century after the work was written), Introduction, mention.
60. Scully, Vincent, Jr., Modern Architecture, Architecture of Democracy, (New York, Braziller, 1961), following p. 48, pl. 30, illustration. p. 19, "...his first great skyscraper...a whole plait of piers and spandrels..." "The form that 'followed' the function was not that of an open steel cage but that of a physical force, contained but vertically standing." "...brought (in the skyscraper building) a dignified image of human potency and force."
61. Burchard, John, and Bush-Brown, Albert, Architecture of America, a Social and Cultural History, (Boston, Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1961), p. 154, "... (Sullivan's) great solutions...in St. Louis and Buffalo." p. 201, mention. p. 237, "... (Wainwright and others) foresighted leaders to the future..." p. 243, mention. pp. 251-252, description. "...one of the great triumphs of his career." "It is an almost perfect outcome of the theoretical and artistic and engineering work in Chicago around 1890." p. 263, mention.
62. Fitch, James M., Architecture and the Esthetics of Plenty, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1961), pp. 89,91, mention.

63. Jones, Cranston, Architecture Today and Tomorrow, (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1961), p. 2, "This (the Wainwright) was the building in which Louis Sullivan first gave logic and form to the skyscraper, that structure which announced the beginning of modern architecture." p. 4, mention. p. 5, "... (Sullivan) left behind him an enduring monument, the skyscraper. Under his hand it had found its place along with the other great architectural types of the past."
64. Coulin, Claudius, Drawings by Architects, Ninth Century to Present Day, (New York, Reinhold, 1962), p. 31, mention in brief list of major work.
65. Dallas Chapter, A.I.A., Prairie's Yield, Forces Shaping Dallas Architecture, (New York, Reinhold, 1962), p. 23, mention.
66. Mackey, Sean (editor), Design of High Buildings, A Symposium, (Hong Kong University Press, 1962), p. 357, Formal Values and High Buildings, by Jon Prescott, mention.
67. Paul, Sherman, Louis Sullivan, an Architect in American Thought, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1962), pp. 46-49, "This soaring skyscraper was his affirmation of the proud spirit of man..." p. 48, illustration. p. 68, mention. p. 158, note 24 of p. 63, ornament.
68. English, Maurice, Testament of Stone: Themes of Idealism and Indignation from the Writings of Louis Sullivan, (Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University Press, 1963), p. 11, "...his masterworks, among them the Wainwright (And the Guaranty)...the first skyscrapers conceived and executed in terms of the

new esthetic principles he was enunciating."

69. Hatje, Gerd (editor), Encyclopedia of Modern Architecture, (London, Thames and Hudson, 1963), pp. 70, 276, mention.
70. Hitchcock, Henry-Russell, World Architecture, A Pictorial History, (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1963), (introduction), p. II, "One of Sullivan's major works," not specifically mentioned.
71. Bemier, G. and R. (editors), Best in 20th Century Architecture, (New York, Reynal, 1964, selected material from L'Oeil International Art Review, p. 194, "Although the Carson Store...was his master work, two other achievements had an even more profound influence on the aesthetic of the skyscraper: the Wainwright...and the Guaranty..."
72. Gowans, Alan, Images of American Living, Four Centuries of Architecture and Furniture as Cultural Expression, (Philadelphia and New York, Lippincott, 1964), p. 390, "...in the Wainwright (and the Guaranty) Sullivan approached the first definitive solution to the problem of designing tall buildings as organic wholes, fully utilizing metal-frame construction." p. 399, "To them...(the academics) it seemed obvious that the concept of skyscraper design Sullivan demonstrated in his Wainwright Building was little more than a free adaption of Renaissance principles of contrived articulation, based on the same broad prototype of a classical column..." pp. 403, 406, 407, mention.
73. Condit, Carl W., Chicago School of Architecture, A History, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1964, a revision of Rise of the Skyscraper), following

p. 78, pl. 86, illustration. p. 105, comparison with verticality of Root's Masonic Temple of Chicago. p. 113, circular openings in attic. p. 117, The author states that Holabird and Roche expressed skeleton framing in their work better than others until Sullivan's Carson store, saying in effect, that the Wainwright is a lesser design. pp. 127-128, description. pp. 130, 136, to 140, 170, 171, 188, mention.

74. McCue, George, Building Art in St. Louis, Two Centuries, A Guide, (St. Louis Chapter, American Institute of Architects, 1964), p. 13, mention. p. 33, illustrations and description. "In this building was discovered the architectural spirit of the modern skyscraper. It influenced all subsequent skyscraper design." p. 34, mention in Union Trust building reference. p. 7, Architecture of Old St. Louis and Its Environs by Buford Pickens (also, Journal, A.I.A., May, 1964, vol. XLI, p. 43, illustrated), "Standing majestically...the Wainwright Building modestly reminds us that Midwestern America produced the first mature and classic example of modern architecture. A completely new building type, the skyscraper, came of age here..." "Sullivan gave us the first full-blown, classical formulation of steel frame, skeleton construction..."
75. Hilberseimer, Ludwig, Contemporary Architecture, Its Roots and Trends, (Chicago, Theobald, 1964), p. 98, mention. p. 99, illustration.
76. Peisch, Mark L., Chicago School of Architecture, (London, Phaidon, 1964, Random House, 1965), p. 3, mention. p. 81, "One notes that the piers (of Woodbury County Courthouse, Sioux City, Iowa, by William Steele and Purcell and Elmslie) are not load-bearing, a shortcoming much of the same nature as the alternate piers in Sullivan's Wainwright

77. Christensen, Erwin O., Western Art, A Pictorial History, (New York, New American Library, 1964, Mentor Book), p. 441, illustration.
78. Collins, Peter, Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture, (Montreal, McGill University Press, 1965), p. 115-116, mention of his skyscrapers in St. Louis in which the author stated they were unimportant to skyscraper development because they were not free-standing. He states further that Sullivan did not contribute anything to architecture except his ornament (!).
79. Millon, Henry A., and Frazer, Alfred, Key Monuments of the History of Architecture, (New York, Abrams, 1965), Part Five, Section 26, pp. C-CI, '...delineates Sullivan's absorption with the poetic expression of new structures and functions.' p. 484, illustration.
80. Duncan, Hugh Dalziel, Culture and Democracy, (New Jersey, Bedminster Press, 1965), pp. XVI, 242, 324, mention. p. 353, "After the completion of the Wainwright...architects of the Chicago school and their partisan critics, such as Schuyler and Bragdon, realized that in 'commercial architecture' the synthesis between architecture and engineering had been achieved." p. 356, "...the structure of the Wainwright as determined by the offices within..." p. 365, "Sullivan's Wainwright Building was to the art of architecture what Jenney's Home Insurance had been to the practice of steel construction. In 1892 Edelman said: 'I select the Wainwright (from all of Sullivan's work)...as the most complete expression of American commercial architecture.' In 1896 Schuyler said: 'I know of no steel-

framed building in which the metallic construction is more palpably felt through the envelope of baked clay. The designer has in this respect fully availed himself of the plasticity of his enclosing material.'" p. 366, "Edelmann begins his essay by asking us to observe in the Wainwright 'the complete absence of all conventional forms.' He compares it with buildings in the East (of 1890) where 'our most clever men are still building up their lofty structures, by superimposing several old buildings one upon the other, and making serious sacrifices of structural convenience to vertical divisions into bays, pavilions, towers, etc...'. In the Wainwright 'all this is brushed aside and the rectangular steel skeleton is expressed in rectangular outer forms.' The building 'is treated as one essential and integral growth. Instead of concealing the implicity of internal function it is emphasized by repetition of parts...'" p. 367, "Commercial architecture is no longer 'a thing of shreds and patches and shams, but direct and complete in itself -- an embodiment of truth...'" pp. 524-525, illustrations, "...as Wright tells us, was the birth of a great new principle in architectural form." Duncan's monumental work penetrates deeply into the broadest implications of architecture for society. He interprets Sullivan's search for meaningful form, taking advantage of all the insights and capabilities of the contemporary scholar-sociologists. He thus offers new means to the architect, artist, and to the architectural historian for greater creativity and understanding. Duncan states that it was Sullivan's "struggle to create a principle of architecture as an aesthetic and moral force in democracy that constituted his genius and that, in turn, stirred the genius of Frank Lloyd Wright."

81. Woo, William F., Story Behind the Wainwright Building, (St. Louis Post-Dispatch, January 23, 1966), The article, motivated by the establishing of offices of the St. Louis Chapter of the American Institute of Architects in the building, discusses the life of Ellis Wainwright and describes the building as a "milestone of American Architecture."
82. Sullivan Ornament Collection, Lovejoy Memorial Library, Edwardsville Campus, Southern Illinois University, 1966, in process. Illustration, photograph by Richard Nickel in extensive permanent exhibition of artifacts largely salvaged and collected by Mr. Nickel from destroyed and altered Sullivan buildings.
83. Wofford, T., and Cotton, Philip, Jr., Recommendations for Restoring and Rejuvenating the Wainwright Building, (Saint Louis Chapter, A.I.A., 1966), A report of the chapter Committee for the Preservation of Historic Building. p. 14, illustrated, "...probably the greatest work of architecture of the nineteenth century." See also Historic American Buildings Survey Inventory, 1966 form, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, U.S.A., by Mr. Cotton.
84. Minnesota History, periodical, Minnesota Historical Society, Vol. 40, No. 3, 1966, Kennedy, Roger G., Long Shadow of Harvey Ellis, p. 103, mention. p. 108, reference to an Ellis drawing of 1887 for a skyscraper patented by LeRoy S. Buffington, which, 'according to Purcell (in Northwest Architect, vol. 8, p. 5, showed) a building which anticipated Sullivan's Wainwright Building in being a unit from sidewalk to roof and with no forced values in the general design treatment to make it

appear as if of solid masonry.'

85. Heyer, Paul, Architects on Architecture, New Directions in America, (New York, Walker, 1966), p. 20, mention. p. 22, illustration.
86. Coyle, E.M., St. Louis, Portrait of a River City, (St. Louis, Folkestone, 1966), pp. 94, 95, mention and illustration
87. Rheims, Maurice, Flowering of Art Nouveau, (New York, Abrams, 1966), p. 27, mention.
88. Creese, Walter, Search for Environment, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1966), p. 161, '...when Sullivan came silently up to Wright's desk and laid his drawings of the Wainwright Building out, and the latter suddenly realized what modern architecture ought to be. (reference to Genius and the Mobocracy)...'
89. Connely, Willard, Louis Sullivan As He Lived, the Shaping of American Architecture, (New York, Horizon, 1960), pp. 129-131, description. p. 133, mention. p. 147, comparison with Schiller Building. pp. 149, 160, mention. p. 163, comparison with Guaranty building. p. 176, pl. 20, illustration. p. 219, Wainwright described as "Epochal". pp. 232, 264, 267, mention.
90. Journal, Society of Architectural Historians, 1941-date, Miscellaneous mention in articles having favorable reference to Wainwright, but including one reference to Mr. Charles Peterson's opinion that the Wainwright derived directly from the Jayne Building and that Sullivan plagiarized other early Philadelphia buildings!

A List of Books That Do Not Refer To The Wainwright Building

This list is attached for several reasons. First, it is real negative evaluation (or an amazing oversight) for the Wainwright not to be included in a work intended to review significant architecture of the past or to discuss the development of the skyscraper office building type.

Secondly, for those who are either interested in broader aspects of Sullivan's work or philosophy, many books of this list are important for understanding both the architect and the building.

One would expect to find Wainwright references in most of the books of this list, so they are named to note that they have not been overlooked and to obviate the need to research them. All but a few discuss Sullivan, and the Prudential is frequently used as the point of reference to Sullivan's theories. Periodicals and general encyclopedias are of course further sources that, as many general art histories, were not consulted for references. This writer would be appreciative of advice of neglected references. Several have not been noted because of plagiaristic or thoughtless nature.

Andrews, Wayne ¹ ; Architecture in America, Photographic History From The Colonial Period to the Present (Atheneum)	1960
Banham, Reyner; Theory and Design in the First Machine Age	1960

¹Many others praise Sullivan as Andrews' statement, 'As a designer of skyscrapers, Louis Sullivan has never been equalled.'

Banham, Reyner; Guide to Modern Architecture	1962
Bannister, Turpin; Architecture at Mid-Century	1954
Birkmire, William H.; Planning and Construction of High Office Buildings	1898
Boyd, Robin; Puzzle of Architecture	1965
Braddon, Claude; Architecture and Democracy	1918
Brownell, Baker; Art in Action, A Discussion of Nine Arts	1939
Chamigneulle and Ache; Architecture du XX ^e Siecle	1962
Cheney, Sheldon; World History of Art	1937
Columbia University; Four Great Makers of Modern Architecture	1963
Condit, Carl W.; American Building Art, The Twentieth Century	1916
Corbusier; When the Cathedrals Were White	1947
Creighton, Thomas; Building for Modern Man	1949
DeZurko, Edward R.; Origins of Functional Theory	1957
Donat, John (editor); World Architecture Today (London)	1964
Edgell, George H.; American Architecture of Today	1928
Fergusson, James; History of the Modern Styles of Architecture (early edition, London, 1849)	1891
Freitag, Joseph K.; Architectural Engineering with Special Response to High Building Construction	1895
Gaudet, Julien; Elements et Theories de l'Architecture	1908
Gropius, Walter; New Architecture and the Bauhaus	1936
Gutheim, Frederick; One Hundred Years of Architecture in America	1957
Hamlin, A.D.F.; History of Ornament	1916
Hamlin, Talbot F.; Architecture Through The Ages	1940
Hamlin Talbot F.; Architecture, an Art for All Men	1947

Hudnut, Joseph; Architecture and the Spirit of Man	1949
Joedicke, Jurgen; Office Buildings	1962
Kimball and Edgell; History of Architecture	1918
Kouwenhoven, John A.; Made in America	1948
Lynton, Norbert; Landmarks of the World's Art	1965
Meyer, Franz S.; Handbook of Ornament	1957
Meyerson, Martin; Face of the Metropolis	1963
Mumford, Lewis; Sticks and Stones	1924
Mumford, Lewis; From the Ground Up	1947
Mumford, Lewis; Roots of Contemporary American Architecture	1952
Neutra, Richard; Life and Shape	1962
Peter, John; Makers of Modern Architecture (and Masters of Modern Architecture)	1958
Randall, Frank A.; History of Chicago Buildings	1949
Rausmussen, Steen E.; Experiencing Architecture	1957
Saarinén, Eliel; Search for Form	1948
Schuyler, Montgomery; Studies in American Architecture	1892
Scott, Geoffrey; Architecture of Humanism	1914
Shultz and Simmons; Offices in the Sky	1959
Siegel, Arthur; Chicago's Famous Buildings	1965
Sturgis, Russell; Dictionary of Architectural Building	1902
Sturgis, Russell; History of Architecture	1902
Sullivan, Louis H.; A System of Architectural Ornament	1924
Summerson, John; Heavenly Mansions	1948
Tallmadge, Thomas E.; Architecture in Old Chicago	1941
Tunnard and Reed; American Skyline	1953
Woltersdorf, Arthur; Living Architecture	1930
Wright, Olgivanna Lloyd; Frank Lloyd Wright, Architecture, Man in Possession of His Earth	1962
Zevi, Bruno; Architecture as Space	1957

The following list (some dates are approximations) is an incomplete documentation of our lost heritage. It is quite valid to say that many of the buildings noted as demolished here are inconsequential, but the great point is (Chicago take note) that the family of architecture that we know as the Chicago School is on the way out except for a notable few.

To those who may be overly sensitized to the following liberal use of the notation of "desecration", a quote from a letter (to the writer in preparing a Scarab, "ring", exhibit, September 8, 1942) from Louis Sullivan's "right arm" for some fifteen years, George Grant Elmslie, is a well qualified and an applicable opinion: "Some one altered the ground floor front (of the Edison Shop) and ruined (sic) my conception. I deeply regretted that, but that was little compared to the change in front of the Garrick. That was really a scandalous performance.'⁽¹⁾ That the Garrick was already desecrated was one point of those who argued that the building should be let go. That one thing leads to another is the reason that preservation of the Wainwright, as well as restoration of its parts, is urged now.

1892 Sullivan's Chicago Opera House Auditorium

1890's Sullivan's Transportation Building

1902 Root's Montauk Building

(1) In a later meeting, gathering material for Frank A. Randall's Chicago Building, Mr. Elmslie told the writer that Sullivan considered "the work for Mr. Wainwright" his best. Unfortunately, with little knowledge of The Wainwright, this was interpreted to mean the more familiar Tomb and the question was not made more specific.

- 1902 Sullivan's Cold Storage Exchange Building
- 1908 Sullivan's Felsenthal Building
- 1922 Sullivan's Colorado Opera House
- 1922 Sullivan's McVicker's Theatre
- 1929 Root's Masonic Temple
- 1929 Holabird and Roche's Tacoma Building
- 1929 Root's Chicago Club II
- 1930 Richardson's Marshall Field Wholesale Building
- 1930 Wright's Steffens Residence desecrated (Later demolished)
- 1930 Sullivan's Zion Temple
- 1931 Jenney's Home Insurance Building
- 1931 Sullivan's Standard Club
- 1930's Burnham and Root's Reliance Building desecrated
- 1939 Sullivan's Ryerson Building
- 1940's Elmslie's Edison Building desecrated
 - Sullivan's Auditorium desecrated
 - Sullivan's Meyer Building desecrated
 - Sullivan's Union Trust Building desecrated
 - Sullivan's St. Nicholas Hotel desecrated
 - Sullivan's Carson's Store desecrated
 - Sullivan's Gage Building desecrated
- 1941 Sullivan's Inter-Ocean Building
- 1940's Sullivan's Frankenthal Building
 - Leopold residence
 - Hyman residence
 - Sullivan's Wright and Lowther Factory
 - Sullivan's Brand Store
 - Sullivan's Rubel Store
 - Sullivan's Rothschild residence
 - Root's Austin Building
 - Sullivan's Diemal residence
 - Sullivan's Lively residence
 - Sullivan's Heath residence
 - Sullivan's Crane Company Factory
 - Sullivan's Euston Company Factory
 - Sullivan's Goodman residence

- Sullivan's Strauss residence
- Sullivan's Kuh residence
- Sullivan's Stern residence
- Sullivan's 3000 Prairie residence
- Sullivan's Selz Factory
- Sullivan's Ryerson Charities Trust Building
- Sullivan's Peck Building
- Sullivan's Illinois Central Railroad Stations
- Sullivan's Eliel residence
- 1953 Sullivan's Walker Warehouse
- 1953 Sullivan's West Chicago Club
- 1953 Sullivan's Jewish Training School
- 1954 Sullivan's New Orleans Illinois Central Station
- 1950's Wright's Coonley residence site desecrated
 - Sullivan's Troescher Building desecrated
 - Wright's Robie residence brickmasonry desecrated
 - Wright's Midway Gardens (most of it in the 20's)
 - Wright's Larkin Building
- 1955 Adler's Borden Block
- 1958 Sullivan's Lindauer residence
- 1958 Sullivan's three Falkenau residences
- 1958 Sullivan's Rosenfeld Building
- 1958 Sullivan's Knisely Flats
- 1958 Sullivan's Rubel residence
- 1959 Sullivan's H. Stern residence
- 1959 Sullivan's S. Stern residence
- 1960 Sullivan's Babson residence
- 1961 Sullivan's Kohn residence
- 1961 Sullivan's Adler residence
- 1961 Sullivan's Felsenthal residence
- 1961 Sullivan's Holzheimer residence
- 1961 Sullivan's Victoria Hotel
- 1961 Sullivan's Garrick Building
- 1960's Sullivan's A.W. Sullivan residence desecrated
- 1960's Sullivan's Bayard Building desecrated
- 1963 Sullivan's Barbe residence
- 1964 Sullivan's Dooly Block

1963 Sullivan's Hammond Library
1963 Sullivan's Blumenfeld Building
1964 Sullivan's Kimball residence
1966 Root's Chicago Armory
1960's Holabird and Roche's Cable Building

Does the roll call of demolition of America's indigenous urban architecture indicate that we should be complacent about buildings that are seemingly safe? I suppose that it is merely over-concern to ponder what grandiose idea or other "need" will dispose of further concern about other great works.

Most will say that the wonderful work and monies contributed to the Auditorium Theatre, Wright's Studio and his Unity Temple, the Conservancy at Bear Run, the Foundation at Glessner, the enlightened management of the several great office buildings, and general watchfulness are enough. I do not think so except for several of Sullivan's fine country banks like those at Owatonna, Columbus, and Grinnell, and, of course, the several tombs.

Architects and societies of various kinds have sometimes passionately devoted themselves to 'in' causes for the preservation of public buildings. While a case can be made for preserving any evidence of a civilization's culture, it is wondrous to compare the stir made about non-historic buildings that are a result of archeological copying without any relation to true architectural integrity. Most were for the purpose of imagery or for delights of imagined grandeur.

Lest there be misunderstanding it should be stated that the many splendid acts of dedication to preservation of monuments of classical forms which

were related to the colonization, establishment, and securing of our nation and its ideals are not only valid but necessary. Similarly the preservation and restoration of buildings relating to the splendid achievements of groups and individuals who have advanced culture in our nation has great meaning to all of us both educationally and inspirationally.

There is some kind of a "message" in the fact that individuals, enterprises, and institutional groups apart from our governments have been almost entirely responsible for the creation of our great indigenous architecture. It is ironic that it seems necessary to call on our governments now to rescue it for posterity. The fact of the matter is that, while architects and planners have been seriously discussing the sad state of urban environment particularly, the federal government is doing the most about it. Of course it has the greatest resources to do so, but we have let the capability and the desire of lesser governments drain away, defaulting. If the architectural profession and its related societies do not manifest strong desire to keep the last and remaining examples of our great thrust forward in architecture, we can hardly expect our government to preserve them, let alone recognize them.

DO WE CARE ?

Structures of much less significance have been established as Registered National Landmarks. . . .

Saint Louis and its people may afford millions for a Spanish Pavilion and may legalize tax relief to new private office buildings. . . .

Why then should not the preservation of a real masterwork be secure? It has been declared an Architectural Landmark by the City of Saint Louis.

If the people, through our various governments, can buy -- or restrict use of -- private property for our general welfare, why cannot we insist on the same for our cultural welfare? And help with the job.

Whether aid or acquisition -- the fact of special greatness should inspire positive action. . . .

"Among the most cherished of a nation's treasures are monuments of its past such as supreme technical or artistic achievements..."

Lyndon Baines Johnson